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THE AFTERMATH OF REVOLUTION

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The Socialist

CALL



Socialist Party— Social Democratic Federation Unity Convention Issue

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Volume XXV No. 1-2

The Whys and Wherefores of the CALL....

● This issue of the SOCIALIST CALL, as the readers will have gathered, contains the resolutions, formal statements and talks given at the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation Unity Convention held in New York during the week-end of January 18-19, 1957.

● As convention statements and speakers made clear, it was their feeling that one of the most important results of socialist unity would be the spontaneous desire of individuals to join the new organization and help in building a revitalized socialist movement in the United States.

● We would like to report that this development did occur and was announced at the convention itself. From a group of Socialists in Los Angeles, the convention received the following message:

● "We the undersigned are sending our hearty and friendly greetings to the Unity Convention, which will be of great historical significance in the rebirth and rejuvenation of a unified Socialist movement in the United States. We pledge our support."

● H. Schneid, Chairman, Jewish Socialist Verband; S. M. Oshry, Chairman, Jewish Labor Bund; H. Rubenstein, National Director Workmen's Circle, 1956-57; M. Charnofsky, National Director Workmen's Circle, 1954-55; Leo Walt, Vice-Chairman So. District Committee Workmen's Circle; D. Goldman, Secretary, So. District Committee Workmen's Circle; A. Filler, Financial Sec'y, So. District Comm.; W. Herman, Recording Sec'y, Jewish Socialist Verband; Max Mont, Director, Anti-Discrimination Dept., Jewish Labor Committee; M. Holfstein, Recording Sec'y Jewish Labor Comm.; Mollie Oshry, Vice-Chairman, West-

THE SOCIALIST CALL

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side Women's Group, Jewish Labor Comm.; A. Ranen, Workmen's Circle Division, J.L.C.; Minnie Levit, Women's Division, Jewish Labor Comm.; M. Rubin, Chairman, Medem Branch 655 Workmen's Circle; S. Kingston, Vice-Chairman, Medem Branch 655, W.C.; B. Weintraub, Financial Sec'y, Medem Branch 655, W.C.; H. Debnepok, Executive Board, Medem Branch 655 W.C.; I. Silverstein, Fin. Sec'y Debs Branch 590 W.C.; Ph. Weinstein, Sec'y Med. Dept. Workmen's Circle; J. Ofman, Financial Sec'y, Capmaker Local 22; M. Antler, Chairman, Zygmans Branch 689, W.C.; H. Rosenfeld, Recording Sec'y Zygmans Branch, W.C.; L. Gelpar, Chairman Vladeck Branch 443, W.C.; B. Segal, Exec. Board, Vladeck Branch, W.C.; I. Finkelstein, Chairman, Jewish Survivors from Concentration Camps; Mary Debnepok, Sec'y, Mendelson Women's Group; Rose Rubin, Recording Sec'y Mendelson Women's Group; Bela Berman, Exec. Board, Local 58 I.L.G.W.U.; Faye Finkelstein, Exec. Board, Local 58 I.L.G.W.U.; E. Dorin, Lecturer, Writer; S. Nutkivitz, Lecturer, Writer; Lilka Maisner, Lecturer; and J. Litewka.

● From a group of midwest Socialists the convention received the following message:

● "Success in achieving effective unity. May what you do here realize the rebirth of a vigorous Socialist movement so imperative in these times."

● I. J. Adland, M. V. Halushka, Hilda Anderson, Jacob Kratovil, Ivar A. Anderson, Marcia J. Lyttle, Antonio Camboni, L. Clemente, Jess A. Cripe, Morris Waldman, Fred Frese, Spencer K. Binyon, Morris L. Polin, Jos. Braun, Morris Beskind, Joseph Brumberg, Anna Stettner, Paul Stettner, Anne Williger, Benj. Williger, Henry Duel and, Frank P. Zeidler.

● The international importance of the Socialist unity convention was emphasized too in a cablegram received from Bjarne Braatoy, Secretary of the Socialist International. Braatoy wired, "Congratulations, wonderful news. Status waiting for Congress July but Bureau March 1st taking cognizance." This cable refers to the fact that, with the unity of the two organizations, the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation will be eligible for full delegate status in the Socialist International.

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Socialist Unity in America

A Statement of the Unity Convention

FOR MORE THAN two decades American Socialists have been divided into the Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist Party. Now, after long negotiations, unity has been achieved and democratic socialism again emerges as a vital social, political, economic and educational force on the American scene.

This historic decision is not merely the achievement of individuals or organizations; it is primarily the result of our turbulent era—profoundly changed social, economic and international developments—just as the original split between the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Federation itself grew out of events of twenty years ago. In 1936, in the confusion of a world still grappling with economic depression and rushing headlong into war, American Socialists had lost a unity of attitude on immediate issues and tactics—although they continued to share in common the ultimate aim of establishing a genuinely democratic society based on freedom and social justice. Today, the reasons for the split remain a tragic chapter in history. But in the years that followed World War II, events and circumstances have made unity between the S.P. and the S.D.F. not only possible but imperative.

The Philosophy of Socialism

The democratic socialist movement has never exacted uniformity of opinion from its members, but it does require the sharing of a common purpose. Both the S.P. and the S.D.F. have believed in democratic socialism. They are fully in accord with the Socialist International's program. They represent in the United States the heritage of the party of Eugene Victor Debs, Morris Hillquit, Algernon Lee, Victor Berger and Norman Thomas.

The course of events in the United States has convinced democratic socialists that minor differences

must be submerged if our own society is to be reconstructed along rational and moral lines. For democratic socialism is not a *compromise* between communism and capitalism, but a group of ideals, a way of life vastly superior to both. It is the doctrine and movement which holds that the practice of freedom, equality and fraternity requires conscious planning for efficient and democratic controls both of natural resources and of the great aggregation of tools and skills for the common good.

Democratic socialism is an historic and ethical force which stands for a synthesis of social and economic democracy and political freedom. It advocates the development of all those opportunities which enable people to live in freedom and fellowship and enrich the meaning and content of life.

The Age of Automation

As Socialists we believe that it is no longer sufficient to repeat slogans and adhere strictly to theories—even Marxism—of a half century ago, but to find a fresh and realistic approach to the problems of our age, the nuclear age, the age of automation.

The first task of democratic socialists therefore is to visualize the effects of automation which are bound to come. How will it affect the worker in the factory and office, the farmer, the intellectual? What changes will automation bring to custom, education, unionism, politics, family life and culture?

Democratic socialists, who believe in progress and ever greater economic and cultural opportunities for the wage earners, are not against automation. But what we want is a well-planned change from the old industrial forms to the new. We want safeguards to channel and control the surging flood of the second industrial revolution.

We, democratic socialists, believe that America, economically the most powerful country in the world

and the most highly industrialized, can become the leader in this new industrial revolution and pave the way for a society based on freedom, justice and the economic well being not only of the American people but of humanity everywhere. It is an America as a leader of economic progress and human decency, rather than an America as a mighty military power, that will be the greatest threat to communist slavery.

The communist assault on the most elementary rights of human beings has demonstrated that democratic socialists were right in their assessment of Leninist-Stalinist totalitarianism. And the latest shifts in Soviet foreign policy, especially following Moscow's bloody suppression of the authentic Hungarian revolution, confronts the free world with problems more fearsome than before. For no communist double-talk, however disguised or sugar-coated, can obscure the fact that Russia under communism is a dictatorship dynamically engaged in a totalitarian process of expansion.

We, democratic socialists, have been for many years in the forefront in the struggle against Communist dictatorship. Our fellow-Socialists, like all freedom-loving men and women, have been jailed, tortured, exiled and assassinated wherever the Kremlin rulers and their fifth columns gained power. Their fiercest struggle is directed against the democratic socialists whom they justly regard as their most principled opponents. No hypocritical pleas from Stalin's heirs for united fronts between Communists and Socialists is likely to lead us to forget Lenin's cynical dictum that Communists will "support Social Democrats like a rope supports a hanging man."

Our idea of socialism, rooted firmly in the democratic process and the moral precepts of civilized mankind, is incompatible with the so-called "socialism" advocated by the Communists, and thus we do not consider the Communist regime in Russia, Communist China and the other satellite countries as

socialism. As Karl Kautsky, the great theoretician of democratic socialism, warned more than two decades ago, "The conflict between Moscow and the Socialist and Labor parties is not based on misunderstanding but is deeply rooted in their respective natures and is just as insoluble as is the contradiction between dictatorship and democracy."

As democratic socialists we believe in democracy for ourselves and for others. Our comrades in Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, the Scandinavian countries, as well as in Asia and Latin America, have gained power and lost power by the democratic process, but have always respected and protected that process, remaining firm in their democratic socialist principles.

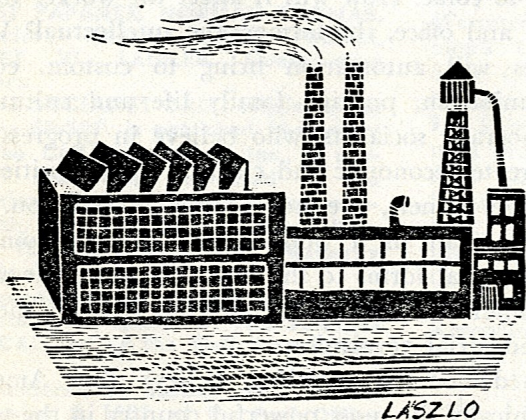
In Europe and Asia, including the Soviet-dominated satellites, democratic socialists, despite decades of persecution, continue to command the mass support which the Communists would like to win over for Moscow's imperialist objectives. The loyalty of the subjugated workers behind the Iron Curtain to democratic socialism has not faltered for a moment.

Thus, anti-Socialists or non-Socialists in the free world who do not understand the difference between democratic socialism and communism are unwittingly playing into Moscow's hands.

The Socialist Goal

As democratic socialists we are unalterably opposed to imperialism and colonialism. We believe that no people must be allowed to oppress or exploit another. The wealth of the world is at present dangerously concentrated in a few fortunate peoples, and must be more equally distributed unless the world economy is to break down. Every help must be given to the new nation-states of Asia and Africa. If world peace is to be preserved all means of economic cooperation between the nations must be used as instruments for economic progress—for raising the standards of life throughout the world.

The trade union movement, a vital force in American life, grown in political consciousness, today shares with Socialists the obligation of working out democratic solutions to these problems. The goals of freedom, democracy and equality, and the means of their achievement, are shared jointly by Socialists and trade unionists. We invite all democratic socialist groups and individuals to join with us in helping to make real the concept of human fellowship in freedom. For, to defeat human misery by human genius is the goal of the united organization of the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Federation.



Socialism and the American Scene

The Practicality of Planning

By Frank P. Zeidler

THE OCCASION OF THIS gathering may not be the most momentous political event this year in the United States. But it certainly should prove one of the most constructive. The consolidation of two groups of people dedicated to the development of a humanitarian and democratic socialist society in the United States, and to the development of such societies throughout the world, is a matter for rejoicing.

Small though we be in number compared to the number of people residing in this nation, nevertheless because of our idealism and the correctness of our principles as a guide for governments and peoples alike, we have been far more influential in the shaping of political policy than our numbers would otherwise have warranted.

The great social legislation of this country has been derived from our philosophy and from the measures which we advocated. There is scarcely an important piece of legislation in social security, in labor protection, in workmen's compensation, in unemployment benefits, in housing, which doesn't have some of the earmarks of socialist thinking in it.

The same holds true for agricultural benefits, for conservation, and for the protection of natural resources. The great fight against ignorance, want, squalor, disease, and unemployment received much of its source of strength from the ideas advanced by socialist thinkers, writers and speakers. In view of the state of the world today, there is much that needs to be contributed additionally from our principles.

Adopting Socialist Principles

We may regret the smallness of our numbers and the weakness of our organizations at this moment, when in other parts of the world socialist organizations are making lasting contributions to their own countries and to the peace of the world. There are, however, substantial reasons why this condition prevails. Here in the vast areas of this nation, there exist many diverse political opinions so that a politi-

Frank P. Zeidler, Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee, was named national chairman of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation at the Unity Convention, where he delivered the keynote speech published here.

cal party to be effective must somehow continue to bring into its fold blocs of voters, including some blocs that have opposing ideas. This has given the major political parties sufficient flexibility to embrace everyone and everything in order to win elections.

As a result, when the advocating of socialist principles appeared to be achieving results among the voters, the major parties took over these principles and enacted some partially socialist measures, as I described before. While expressing ethical disapproval of the word "socialism," political leaders of other parties were busy enacting measures on the basis of socialist principles. It is ironic that the socialist movement which contributed so much to the welfare and progress of the people should be so small and the amorphous major political parties with so little consistency of philosophy could have profited so greatly.

Perhaps there is a subtle principle of political science which escapes us at present why this should be so, but we ought not to be too unhappy about it; for indirectly, by our existence and our preachments, we have induced the major parties to follow a course which has produced some benefits for the people, even though we might have done much more.

The Contribution of Socialism

This fact is the great reason why there must be a democratic socialist political organization—or party—in this nation. It must serve as a factor in producing better legislation and better social organization and as a constant prod on society to move ahead in dealing with the great problems that confront the United States and the world today.

We are meeting today at a time when two great economic systems, misnamed "communism" and "capitalism," face a smash-up because of irreconcilable hatreds and badly mistaken philosophies of life which require the stimulus of the threat of war to hold peoples together. I say that the systems "communism" and "capitalism" are misnamed because the former is really a system of dictatorship by bureaucratic elite, and the latter is really a system of protected private enterprise sheltered from free competition behind a shield of favorable laws.

The first system is so despotic and arbitrary that it would fall apart if it did not constantly drive into its people a threat of being attacked in order to justify a huge military establishment. The system of sheltered and protected private enterprise depends for its existence on the confidence of the private investor that he can get a good rate of interest on his invested money; and the only thing that seems to give him confidence is the fact that the government is going to spend huge sums for military equipment. Take this expenditure away, and the system would collapse because the investor's confidence would collapse.

The Equivalents of War

Thus in both Leninism and the system of sheltered private enterprise there seems to be no moral equivalent to war to keep the systems going. Hence the threats of war and the blustering, which if it is kept up long enough, will explode into a nuclear warfare that will result in the death of tens of millions of people and misery such as the world has not yet experienced to this date.

This is a sobering and almost dismaying fact of present day life to contemplate, and one to which every socialist organization in the world must address itself. The task which we must accomplish is whether we can substitute for these systems another system that is based on a greater justice, on the desire for peace and cooperation among peoples, on a better distribution of the world's scarce goods, and on the desire to attack the frontiers of ignorance, disease, and death. Any social system which encompasses these principles is socialist in character. We in the United States must remember that while our organization seemed to falter, these principles did not; and the necessity to develop a political system to carry out our principles has hardly been met.

Many of us have been in the socialist movement for more than a quarter of a century. Our hope for a world of cooperating commonwealths has not been fulfilled, but the need for such an arrangement is greater than ever. Our basic concept of a social organization in which the basic means of production and distribution are democratically owned and managed becomes even more valid as the population of the globe continues to expand at an astonishing rate, and as the supply of the world's resources is pressed upon ever more heavily.

At this juncture, it is most important to stress the basic belief that as socialists we are not enamored of public ownership for its own sake, but rather as a useful device to advance the public welfare. With-

out democratic controls, public ownership can become a cruel and despotic device and a thing to be abhorred. To see this we have but to observe the regime of Hitler or the present countries where Leninist notions prevail.

Reclaiming the Socialist Name

One of the greatest tasks the socialist movement all over the world faces is the reclaiming of the name and meaning of "socialism" from the control of the Leninists and the variety of sects which have been spawned from that doctrine of how to seize the power of government. The Leninists describe their system and practices as "socialism" whereas those who hold and have held that doctrine were really interested in gaining power, and the whole artificial facade of Leninist philosophy was merely a cover behind which naked power politics were operated.

The deep and fundamental source of the socialist philosophy, however, was and is the desire for brotherhood among men, the desire to re-arrange society to alleviate suffering, and to promote security, justice, and cultural development by cooperation and mutual assistance. This is a philosophy worlds apart from the violent methods of Leninist opportunism. It is, therefore, no wonder that while Leninism has flourished into a powerful and oppressive military system, it has not produced socialism, or mutual confidence or trust anywhere.

Whenever, therefore, a spokesman for a Leninist state or organization talks of "socialism," we must find a method of pointing out the false claim and the erroneous use of the word.

For the United States, I can see some great and practical changes that face a socialist movement and a need for the development of an improved and modernized program.

Toward Equal Opportunity

What can we do to assist people of whatever race to enjoy equal opportunity for development in the nation? This problem racks our nation at present and needs specific and careful answers.

What can Socialists do to preserve and protect the natural resources of the nation, the precious water resources, the oil and coal supply, the forests, and the fields and farms? Our nation's natural resources are being horribly and irreplaceably wasted in many instances by private exploitation.

What shall be our policy on the control and development of atomic energy and atomic resources? Shall this new field be abandoned to private ownership and monopoly?

What shall we do about the problems of our cities; their lack of financial resources, their need for traffic relief, for improved utilities, for slum clearance, for housing? Do we Socialists have specific proposals? We have many such proposals upon which I can not expand here.

What shall we do about the need for schools and for higher education? What shall we do about better recreational opportunities for the youth of America?

Again, can we advance better measures for health improvement, for medical training and research?

Do socialist measures and public ownership have any validity for solving the transportation problem and traffic slaughter? Of course, they do, even though I can not spell them out here.

Toward the Cooperative Idea

Can we not also advance the progress of the cooperative movement? Here we can give a practical demonstration of our ideas. There is need for our thinking, our advice, our philosophy in many fields and we should organize to express it. Let me here state that I hope our organization will include the word "party" in its title. It seems that the American public is more responsive to a message when it is spoken by a group actively interested in campaigning than in one that merely advocates certain ideas. In some states socialists will want to stand for office and for

legislative bodies as a means of promoting their concepts.

It is my hope, too, that there will develop a strong press to spread our ideas. This press is indispensable to socialist development.

It is my hope also that the United States socialist movement will develop strong fraternal ties around the globe. I believe we have some unique contributions to make to socialist thought and also to action. We can help to contribute to lessened world tensions and to disarmament. These are not impractical concepts. These are vitally needed actions lest our civilization perish in an atomic holocaust.

With these great goals, we should move ahead with serious purpose and with determination. Our enthusiasm at this moment ought not to be that of the sprinter, but of the long distance runner who knows he has a long way to the goal and many obstacles to overcome. We should eschew division whenever possible and also methods which of themselves destroy our integrity and people's belief in our good will toward them.

Most of us who are here have been tried by years of experience and adversity, but our regrets for past difficulties should diminish to insignificance before the task of world peace and brotherhood which we set before us.

On to our task, then, with cheerfulness and confidence. Whatever truth is in our cause for a democratic social order shall ultimately prevail.

The Political Aspects of Unity

Trade Unionism and Socialism

By Louis P. Goldberg

WE ARE ABOUT TO WITNESS the birth of a new Socialist organization. Its success cannot depend on the combined strength of its sponsors—the Socialist Party and Social Democratic Federation. We rather rely on the conscious or subconscious desire of human beings for a better and more cooperative society. We hope we can awaken and stir that universal desire. We shall attempt to clarify the misconceptions which have stood in the way of such awakening.

One of them is that the comparatively high standard of living enjoyed by Americans has already given us that for which Socialists have striven.

This idea has undoubtedly been the main cause of our rapidly becoming a nation of "Conformists," the

characterization by social psychologists, or as one speaker crudely, but expressively, put it "contented cows."

Prosperity and Well Being

As a result of wide-spread material satisfaction, we have lost the passionate urge, so prevalent in the last century, to attack injustice, corruption and the tendency towards economic monopoly and exploitation.

Too many are afraid to be with the minority, to be independent in thought and action, to criticize and to make the cause of the wronged our business. It has been said "we have confused 'prosperity' with well being."

The evidence is overwhelming that with the great increase in our productive capacity and national wealth, greed and avarice, the drive to "get places," to reach a desired goal by hook or crook has been intensified, encouraged and enshrined. Graft and corruption, through "give-aways" to the favored few, is rampant in the higher political echelons.

There is need for a political organ, composed of idealists, which would reject the policy of opportunism, cleave closely to principles, broadly criticize social complacency, attack corruption and public venality and re-awaken a high respect for decency and fairness on political, economic and social levels.

The Democratic Party cannot possibly fill this bill. Undoubtedly, it has within its leadership, and in its rank and file, many of high integrity, liberal thinking and upright character. However, when confronted with social problems, they too often choose the opportunistic course.

But a more devastating thought is that when they achieve power, the possibility of thorough improvement is impeded by the appointment of those unable and disinclined to carry through such reforms.

The result is that, in practice, the laws as enforced have no resemblance to those which were enacted. Reforms can only be effectively implemented by those who sincerely believe in them. This we cannot expect from any of the existing political parties.

The Role of Existing Parties

Even the New York Liberal Party, which came into being with the fervent hope of so many of us that it would fill the political vacuum (and which I have loyally supported since its inception), pays more attention to obtaining immediate job rewards than to crusading against the evils from which our political and economic system is suffering. Its main redeeming aspect is that some of the most liberal unions are its main support.

As to the Republican Party, the less said the better. Undoubtedly some liberals, afflicted with ethical inertia, remain in it, though increasingly they have lost the ability or desire to battle against the corporate agents in control of the Party. There are few, if any, potential LaFollettes or Wayne Morses still there.

The American Labor Party, which could have played a significant role had it not come under control

of Communist apologists, has passed into oblivion.

Whatever remains of the Socialist Labor Party has been for decades moribund in thought and ideas.

The Trotskyist splinter groups, falsely calling themselves Socialists, cannot hide their Communist identity.

A real social-democratic organization—a new socialist party—is a crying need in this country. Who is to form it?

There are those who honestly believe that from the labor movement, and without the aid of a socialist party, there will ultimately arise a political labor party, with a trend toward a socialist program and ideology.

We wish we could join in such a belief. It would make the task simple for us. We could sit back and be free of the frustrating, difficult and pitifully slow process of education—of changing the thinking habits of the people.

Socialism and Laborism

But history and experience have demonstrated that no labor movement has brought a socialist organizational force into being. Rather the contrary has happened.

In practically everyone of the modern states which have effective labor movements, the pattern has been the appearance first of a political socialist party and as a result of socialist propaganda, the emergence of a labor movement. In the countries of Continental Europe, that pattern caused the labor and socialist movements to develop coterminously, as allies.

In Great Britain, however, the labor movement, though with the inestimable aid of the Independent Labor Party, the socialist organization, grew independently of the socialist movement. Labor generally supported the British Liberal Party, just as presently in the United States labor, in the main, leans towards the Democratic Party.

Organizing the Labor Party

Decades of constant and intensive pressure upon labor to venture into the political field independently, first bore fruit in 1900 when the Labor Representation Group was formed, establishing cooperation between labor members of Parliament elected on the Liberal Party ticket and the Socialist M.P.'s elected by the Independent Labor Party.

In 1906, the next step was taken—the organization of the British Labor Party. Powerful unions, which included the miners, railway workers and others stayed aloof, continued to cooperate with the Liberal

Louis P. Goldberg, formerly national chairman of the Social Democratic Federation, was named vice-chairman of the SP-SDF. This talk was given at the Unity Convention of the SP-SDF.

Party and elected Lib-Labs (Liberal-Laborites). It took years before these unions were won over.

So we find that in Great Britain, the Socialists did not wait for organized labor to mature sufficiently to the point of recognizing the importance of independent labor political action. It may well be contended that had the Socialists sat by and waited for labor to take the initiative, uninfluenced by a Socialist Party, there may not have been a labor party in Great Britain, even to this day.

Another illustration of a socialist party succeeding without the initial support of organized labor is the C.C.F. in Canada, which controls the province of Saskatchewan and has about 25 members in the Canadian Parliament. The Canadian labor movement has not come to the point of publicly recognizing the need of a labor party or wholeheartedly supporting the Socialist C.C.F.

These two instances support the conclusion that a socialist movement can develop without the immediate sympathetic aid of organized labor.

Spurring Independent Political Action

A socialist movement should and will develop, if for no other reason than that it would serve as a leavening agent to spur the labor movement into independent political action.

A socialist movement is so necessary to labor that reason dictates that its leaders should cooperate in forming a socialist organization where there is none. This they cannot yet see, but they will realize it as the new party grows and proves of help to labor in the future as the Socialist Party did in the past.

The third misconception is that all is well in the United States in the present phase of capitalist development.

I will not burden you with indigestible figures. Many books have been written in the past few years on the point that real power, political as well as economic, lies in a few corporations and not in the democratically elected governmental representatives. Corporate power, to an ever increasing extent, influences our national life, eliminating small business and creating a condition that cannot realistically be characterized as free enterprise.

A. A. Berle, Jr., in his illuminating book on modern corporations, says that the modern corporation brought a concentration of economic power which can compete on equal terms with the modern State. Since corporate power is no longer merely economic, but political as well, Berle's conclusion is that the future may well see economic organisms typified by

the corporation superseding the State as a dominant form of social organization. Berle makes a plea for control of this power and argues that it must be made responsible not only to investors, workers and consumers, but to all Society.

Owners of the G.O.P.

This corporate combine owns the Republican Party. Too many of the powerful leaders of the Democratic Party are tied to that economic class or to fragments of it or, for their own personal advantage, would like to be so tied. The Liberal Party, by too often giving the Democratic Party carte blanche support, may be termed a "fellow traveler" in this anti-social coalition.

Of course the dominant economic group can afford to give the people some charity in the form of inadequate social reforms—and they do. But this is not a new idea. It was most effectively tried by Bismarck in Germany about 80 years ago and was called by publicists "Benevolent Despotism."

Shall we be satisfied with "Benevolent Despotism" because our stomachs are temporarily filled? Should we be contented when it is possible, through the exercise of our collective power, to obtain immeasurably more without any kind of despotism, benevolent or otherwise?

No! Americans are entitled to more than mere bread, some comforts, a measure of gadgets and the right to worship "the hand that feeds us." We are entitled to the right to rule ourselves and determine our destiny, economic, political and social. Being ruled by persons who are guided mainly by special interests and an unquenchable avidity for profits is not a lot for a free people.

The Country's Economic Situation

It is a myth that "they"—meaning the ruling clique—gave us the boasted high standard of living. If it had been left entirely to them all the workers would probably now be living on bread and water. The improved standard of living was forced by the workers and the middle class at the cost of blood, sweat, tears and lives, against the bitter and ferocious opposition of big business.

But while we are talking about the comparative well being of most of the organized workers, we must not forget that the unorganized workers whose wages often are not influenced by those of union workers, are still living from hand to mouth. Neither should we forget the many millions of families, variously estimated at between five and 10 million, affecting

about 20 to 40 million persons, who are existing on less than \$2,000.00 per year, per family, which at the present high cost of living is grossly inadequate.

And what about the plight of small business men, which big business has been gradually eliminating from the economic arena?

A well known columnist on economic matters recently said that there is only a 50-50 chance of survival for two years for a small new business—one out of three chances of lasting four years and the chances of existing 10 years sink to one out of five.

We are on the threshold of vast productive and economic changes as a result of automation and the nuclear age. Things are going to be run differently than before. Innovations are already appearing in practically every phase of our existence.

Whether all this is to spell good for the people will depend upon how well they can organize themselves to obtain the benefits of the new developments.

An Age Running Mad

In my research, I came across a very interesting quotation from Dr. Johnson several centuries ago which reads:

"The age is running mad after innovation: all the business of the world is to be done in a new way; men are to be hanged in a new way; Tyburn itself is not safe from the fury of innovation."

It seems that in all ages material improvement did not constitute an unmixed blessing.

The fourth fallacy is that a socialist political party would in some way constitute a challenge to organized labor.

We are not organizing in opposition to labor in any field. Traditionally and idealistically we are wedded to the concept that we must help the workers gain greater and greater influence—for themselves personally in the economic field—for the people generally on the political field—ultimately through an independent labor party.

We do not aim to interfere with or hamper any efforts of organized labor to realize these aims. We hope to help labor, as we have in the past, to achieve its goals.

Our loyalty to the labor movement has been proven through the 55 years of our existence. At various times the responsible labor leaders have acknowledged their indebtedness to us for the service we rendered, especially during the darkest days of the struggle to organize the workers. We expect no reward. Our service to labor was and is as instinctive

as breathing is to man, for our entire philosophy is based upon helping labor develop its power.

It was so recognized in Samuel Gompers' tribute to Marx: "He grasped the principle that the trade union was the immediate and practical agency which could bring wage earners a better life. Marx was not consistent in all his writings, but his influence contributed to emphasize the necessity for organization of wage earners in trade unions and the development of economic power prior to efforts to establish labor government through political methods."

We helped unionism grow. When the labor movement grew strong we rejoiced as much as they. If necessary, we will throw all our strength into an effort to make the labor movement even stronger and more secure.

Some of those who have abandoned us rationalize their defection by the statement that labor leaders do not want a strong socialist movement and that efforts to strengthen the socialist movement constitute opposition to labor. There is no reason for this attitude. It ignores the basic distinction between a socialist movement and organized labor.

The socialist movement is composed of persons who are idealistic. They join the movement not to advance their material conditions, obtain personal power and influence or social position. They voluntarily give their time, energy, financial contributions and abilities to spread the philosophy and principles of socialism. They realize that if they desire personal advancement, other circles offer far better opportunities.

Trade Unionists as Diplomats

Organized labor, on the other hand, primarily draws its membership from those who desire to better their economic conditions. It is an unfortunate fact that a considerable proportion of organized labor's members became such through economic pressure which they resisted. Many of them still resent being compelled to pay dues and assessments and being subjected to orders and discipline. I do not state this in criticism. But we must recognize this problem which has haunted the labor movement for generations, often forcing it into actions which on the surface appeared undemocratic, but which were necessary against the attacks of anti-union minded members. Nor have we a ready remedy for this situation other than constant education of those who joined the union reluctantly until they shall become union-minded.

We must also keep in mind that organized labor is involved in a daily "bread and butter" struggle

and everything it undertakes or does, must be with a constant eye on that fact. Unions cannot and do not go all-out in an attack upon the evils of our economic system because they must constantly deal with the employers to obtain benefits for their members. They must at all times be practical. As one of our comrades remarked, "Labor must be diplomatic."

The Force of Idealism

But the primary bases of socialism are ethical, moral and idealistic concepts.

Here in the United States, as well as in many other parts of the globe, the people have been suffering from lack of faith in ethical and moral principles, or perhaps in the application of them in their daily lives, politics, social contacts and behavior. The present comparative material well being of a great proportion of our people has lulled them into a feeling that it would be a grievous mistake to probe into ethical and moral principles, which are the basis of all idealism, while material life is so pleasant.

The biblical observation that man does not live by bread alone is just as wise and applicable now as it was when first spoken or written. History has established beyond any possibility of successful contradiction that material well being cannot long continue in a society in which the chief slogan is "every-one for himself and the devil take the hindmost." The lack of idealism in public life in this country plays right into the hands of the extreme conservatives and reactionaries. Unfortunately, there is no organized force to awaken within the people their idealistic instincts which have lain dormant for too long.

Labor's Political Program

We are organizing a new political party which is pledged by our unity agreement not to rush rashly into the electoral field. We cannot do so if we wanted to and we should not if we could.

However, no socialist movement worthy of the name, can exclude the possibility of electoral action at the appropriate time. But we must have an interval to become accustomed to working, acting and thinking together. We need also a period for an organizational drive. We shall try to reach all our discouraged friends in every nook and cranny of the nation and try to transfer to them some of our newly-found enthusiasm, zeal, hope and energy.

The expression of fear in some corners that a new socialist party would interfere with labor's political action is unfounded. Carrying out our document on

political action, we will nominate for public office candidates in opposition to those endorsed by the legitimate labor movement. While we shall do all we can to help the labor movement, it in turn should, at least in its political ventures, consider our party as a consistent friend and ally. It should not take action or nominate candidates which would shock the conscience and sensibilities, not only of socialists, but of mature labor leaders over the world.

When our new party shall decide to enter the political field on any of the levels, we feel it will be for the benefit of the labor movement. It often happens that labor unions are forced into taking a political position with obvious reluctance. That happened some years ago when they endorsed the candidacies of the late Supreme Court Justices Cropsey and McCooey who had attained the unenviable reputation of being the worst labor-hating judges on the local bench. Would it not be a positive comfort for labor to know that there was an existing political body which could take steps to nullify any benefit to the person or organization exerting the pressure or coercion?

I feel certain that responsible labor leaders under such circumstances would applaud opposition to such candidates by a socialist organization.

All of us at some time in our lives have been social dreamers.. Like the prophets of old we dreamt of a world in which swords will have been turned into plowshares and poverty will have been conquered.

Let us not be ashamed of such dreams.

Nor should be we ashamed that we were moved by the immortal words of James Russell Lowell, which I hope still inspire us:

*They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak.
They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three.*

Building a Better World

We have a philosophy which has stood the test of time. We have principles which are the only hope for a better world. We have the ethical approach which prevents the degrading of human beings and ennoble them. We have a faith in our fellow men.

Let us shed all doubts in the ultimate victory of socialism. Let us act in the spirit of the wise words of Franklin D. Roosevelt that "We have only to fear, fear itself."

Let us go on with the work of building a better, a cooperative, a more peaceful world where there will be freedom—freedom from fear.

Toward Socialist Organization

A Resolution Adopted by the Unity Convention

This Unity Convention marks a first step in the rejuvenation of the socialist movement in the United States. But while socialist unity is vital, unless this historic meeting is followed by an intensive campaign to gather together all democratic Socialists into our organization, our present enthusiasm may be wasted.

The interval between the present and the time of convening the first convention of our organization in 1958 should be mainly devoted to organizing and building.

Accordingly, the incoming National Executive Committee is directed to give top priority to the recruiting of new members on the widest possible scale and to the involvement of our present membership in an expanding program of Socialist activity. During the coming year our specific goals are: 1) to triple our combined membership and the circulation of the SOCIALIST CALL; 2) To place a number of organizers in the field; 3) To double the number of functioning locals; 4) To increase the paid personnel in the national office; and thereby bring our united organization to a new peak of activity and influence. Thus we can take the first steps to build that mass Socialist organization which will again play an important role in national and international affairs.

Wherever even a small number of Socialists exist, a local must be organized with a planned program

of activities. Individual isolated members must be urged to recruit their friends to organize a local which will participate in Party drives and projects under the guidance of the National organization. Every former member of both the Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist Party must be urged to rejoin the united movement.

Members of trade unions, cooperatives and fraternal organizations must be approached to the same end. All locals and branches should hold regular meetings open to the public and urge non-members to participate in their work.

During the past year thousands of inquiries were received regarding the Socialist or Social Democratic program and printed material was sent in response to each inquiry. At this time every person who was sufficiently interested to inquire must be followed up and invited to join the united organization.

In view of the importance of membership work, we recommend to the National Executive Committee that it formally establish the position of National Membership Secretary with the responsibility for all correspondence with locals, members, and prospective members, relating to membership matters. This National Membership Secretary shall be responsible for the publication of the *Socialist Bulletin* and shall be an ex-officio member of the National Action Committee.

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The Eisenhower Doctrine

By

Norman Thomas

IN A WORLD WITH MANY DANGEROUS, war-breeding trouble spots, the Middle East today offers the chief danger of the kind of war that more probably than not would grow into the devastation of World War III. That danger has been somewhat abated by the UN and in the strengthening of that organization lies great hope. Nevertheless, it is not today in a position to enforce a just peace. It will scarcely develop a program, now lacking for such a peace, except with American leadership and assurance of American support.

In their relation to the complex of problems presented by the Middle East no government and no people can claim either perfect wisdom or perfect virtue. However grave may have been sins of omission all around, the problems we confront have deeper roots than the relative crimes, blunders or shortcomings of Khrushchev, Mollet, Eden, Ben-Gurion, Nasser, assorted Arab leaders, Acheson and Dulles.

The conflicting forces are the remnants of old imperialism, the drive of communist imperialism, the passionate nationalism of new nations, ancient religious differences, need for petroleum from an area whose underground wealth is badly distributed, and great differences in social standards and stages of development.

Saving the UN

Our approach to a policy must concern itself with these forces rather than wrangling over what might have been. Nevertheless, some judgment must be made of the past to guide future policy. We Americans should start by recognizing at least this: Whatever Mr. Dulles' errors—and he made many, especially in dealing with Nasser, the Aswan Dam and the Suez Canal—the Eisenhower stand with the UN against military aggression saved the UN and with it peace for the world.

Today a desirable policy for our government to press, in the knowledge that it is neither omnipotent nor omniscient, divides itself under three heads.

First, security against military aggression, the chief danger coming from Soviet aggression, either direct or indirect. Here as a preliminary step, I should ac-

cept the Eisenhower doctrine as embodied in the Congressional resolution as making for lesser rather than greater risk, provided that a reasonable time limit is put on the powers granted to the President. In the military field, the President really asks for no more power than he has, and it is to the good that he wants to consult Congress about it. It is also to the good that he asks this power to deal only with overt military aggression by communist or communist-controlled nations. The more likely indirect aggression by the Soviet cannot be dealt with by any grant of great military power to the President.

The Acheson Alternative

I doubt if the substitute Mr. Acheson suggested in his thoughtful testimony would present a lesser risk—not if the President will wisely use the economic aid which he has asked Congress to grant, develop other parts of a constructive Mid-East policy and press toward disarmament. Here I welcomed the President's offer to enter a "reliable agreement" for international control of "outer space" missile and satellite development.

I welcome also Mrs. Roosevelt's proposal that the U.S. ask Russia and all other nations to agree to sell no arms in the Mid-East. This, as Mrs. Roosevelt said, would at least put Moscow on the spot. I think it would be necessary, if no arms are to be sold, to provide for a continuing UN police force in the area pending further constructive peace agreements. As far as possible, economic aid should be administered through the UN and political pressure for peace exercised by it.

Second, the problem of the Suez Canal. Obviously, the process of clearing the Canal which at the moment is proceeding well must go forward unimpeded by political quarrels or wrangles over who shall pay the costs. Once the Canal is open, Israeli ships and ships of all other nations must have its use on the same equitable terms. Ownership of the Canal may well be vested in Egypt, which did operate the Canal surprisingly well before the attack on her. There should be an international overlordship of control of operation.

I myself would warmly second James P. Warburg's suggestion that the United States say to Nasser that it would accept an application of the same principle of ultimate international control of operation as it urges upon Egypt—a proposal that Nasser would find

(Continued on page 18)

Pictorial Highlights of SP-SDF Unity Convention and Dinner

Row A (left to right): Judge Jacob A. Panken, Norman Thomas, Samuel H. Friedman.

Row B (left to right): Anna Kethly, leader of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary; Mary Saran, representing the Socialist International.

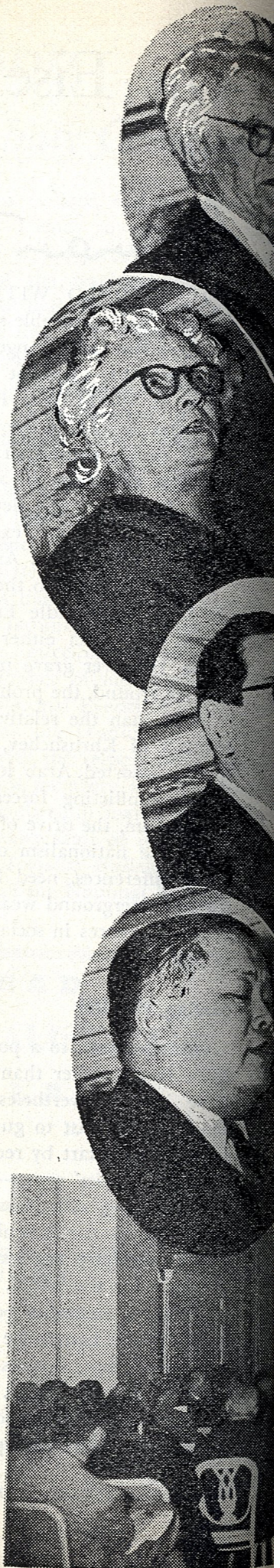
Center: Louis P. Goldberg and Darlington Hoopes shake hands, symbolizing unity between the Social Democratic Federation and Socialist Party.

Row C (left to right): Austen Albu, British Labor Member of Parliament; National Chairman Frank P. Zeidler, Mayor of Milwaukee; Alsing Andersen, Vice-Chairman, Danish Socialist Democratic Party.

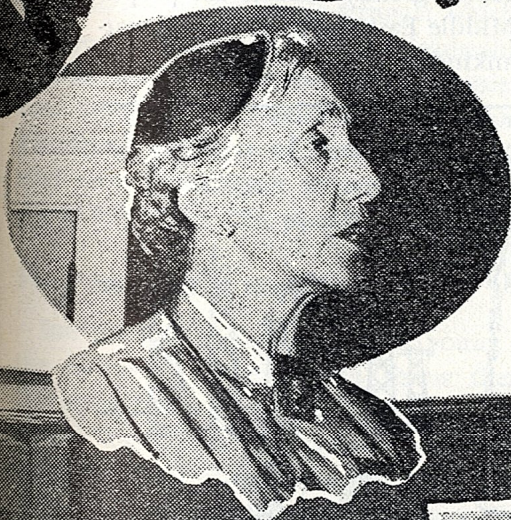
Row D (left to right): U On Sein, Member, Burmese Delegation, U.N.; Delegate S. Fanny Simon; Jules Moch, French delegate, U.N. Disarmament Commission representing the French Socialist Party; Herman Singer.

Bottom row: Convention sessions, Friday evening, January 18, and Saturday, January 19.

(Photos by Arthur and Julius Bernstein, Mass. Delegates to Unity Convention.)



SOCIALIST UNITY CONVENTION



THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE

(Continued from page 15)

it hard to refuse. It is, moreover, a proposal in line with the international control of international waterways toward which the world should work.

The Jews in Egypt

The U.S. and the UN should insist that Nasser end deportation of Jews and any mistreatment of Jews in Egypt. There is no justification, but some excuse for Egyptian conduct in the fear that war breeds, such fear as for instance led the U.S. to evacuate all Japanese and Japanese-Americans on the West Coast during World War II. The contention of some Zionists that all Jews are at least potentially Israeli citizens can easily be exploited by Nasser and other Arab leaders.

As for Nasser himself, he has disappointed the hopes with which he began the new government in Egypt and talks like a demagogue. Comparisons between him and Hitler, however, may be misleading. The objective situations are different and no foreigner and, to the best of my knowledge, no Egyptian has proposed a desirable alternative to Nasser. The jealousies between the Arab nations, which in many ways militate against a good settlement in the Middle East, make less likely any success for Nasser in obtaining hegemony throughout a large part of the Moslem world. Clearly, the Tunisian leaders don't want it.

Egypt desperately needs help to solve her economic problems which arise in part from overpopulation. Here competition with communism means that we must offer a better type of economic cooperation. Finally, it must be said that any peace settlement must include guarantees to Israel against depredation by any variety of Egyptian fedayeen.

The Israeli-Arab Conflict

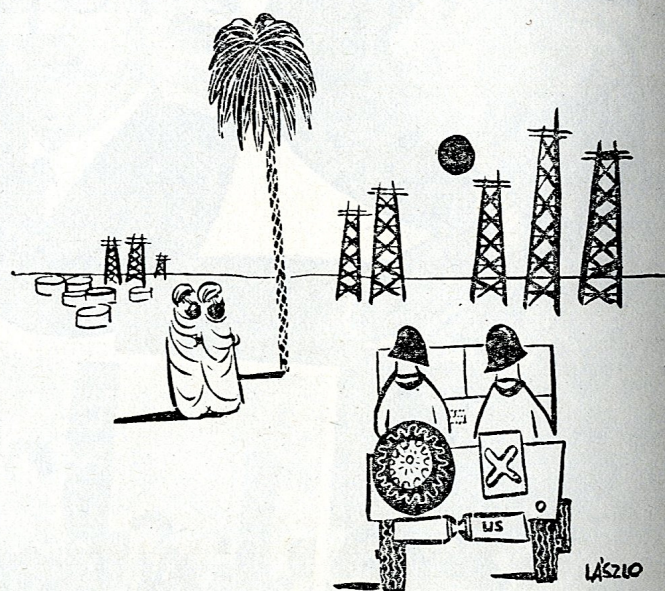
Third, the feud between the Arab nations and Israel. An uneasy truce must be turned into peace with reasonable delimitation of boundaries and guarantees against raids and counter-raids across them. A plan must be made and put into operation for resettling the 900,000 Arab refugees in Israel's borders. The process will be made easier by Israel's recognition of the right of repatriation, even although, practically,

few Arabs can be satisfactorily settled in Israel. On the basis of the right of repatriation, generous compensation must be made to Arabs who owned at the time of their flight so large a part of Israel's arable land. Difficulties in resettlement have, of course, arisen from the selfish policies of Arab states with which a constructive policy must deal.

There can be no successful resettlement or any extensive improvement in Middle East economy without a cooperative development of water supply. Ideally there should also be a regional plan for a general sharing of some of the profits of rich oil wells now divided between Western exploiting companies and governments, usually of a most undemocratic sort. The whole Middle East should benefit to some degree from these oil reserves.

In carrying out this sort of program, the UN and the U.S. must depend upon persuasion more than force. But it would be highly desirable, as I have said, to develop on proper lines a United Nations police force which could stay in the area pending settlement.

The U.S. has not only an obligation of humanity but of duty to aid very generously not only in economic development of the Middle East, but in supplementing what Israel can pay by way of compensation to Arab refugees. The U.S. and the UN were greatly concerned in the establishment of the state of Israel. Even the USSR voted recognition of it. The State of Israel provided refuge for victims of Western anti-Semitism. The West therefore has a moral responsibility to help both Israel and the Arab states resolve the feud which so greatly hinders the proper development of the Middle East and so gravely threatens the peace of mankind.



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Supporting the Forces of Freedom

The Socialist Challenge to Communism

By Hugh Gaitskell

I AM EXCEEDINGLY SORRY that I cannot be present in person at the Socialist Unity dinner but political changes in England have obliged me to cut short my visit to the United States and to return to London several days earlier than I had intended. I can assure you that I would not have done this if I had not felt it to be absolutely necessary in view of the resignation of the former Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden, and the establishment of a new government. However, this modern device of the tape recorder enables me at least to send you my warm greetings and to express the sincere hope that you will have a very enjoyable and successful evening.

Mr. Chairman, I think this is a very appropriate moment for the reassertion of our democratic socialist faith and I have no doubt that is what you will all be doing this evening. In particular, the events in Hungary, in the heroic struggle which has thrilled the world, is the fact that the leadership was taken oppressed peoples living under Soviet totalitarian dictatorship are turning increasingly against communism.

Perhaps the most impressive development of all in Hungary in the heroic struggle which has thrilled the world, is the fact that the leadership was taken in this revolution by the young people. One might have supposed that older men and women who remembered the days of democracy in the past, and who were less subject to communist indoctrination would have been the people most closely concerned.

The Passing of a Nightmare

But the fact is that it was the young workers and the university students who threw themselves into this struggle, the very people who had been most subject to communist propaganda and pressure. This is surely an event of immense significance for the whole world. It has lifted from our hearts and minds a burden which I must frankly admit had settled there very heavily in recent years.

This is the text of the Hugh Gaitskell talk, given by recording, at the Unity Convention dinner. Hugh Gaitskell is Leader of the British Labor Party.

There was a feeling that the apparatus of a modern totalitarian dictatorship was so powerful that a people, in time, could not struggle against it. There was a feeling, indeed, that so great was the monopoly of education and propaganda, and the terror as well, that in time people would even come to lose the love of liberty itself. Well, now we know that that nightmare is past.

We know we were wrong. We know that it is impossible to crush the desire for freedom. We know that the people of Hungary and the people of Poland and, we believe, the people of Russia itself, are themselves as anxious for freedom as we are too. We know that they have turned against the doctrines of communism and that the ideals of democracy are the things that they really care about as much as we do. With all its weaknesses democracy, parliamentary democracy and liberty, as we have learned to appreciate it in the West throughout these years, remains their aim as much as it is ours.

Aiding the Revolt

What the heroic Hungarians have done also is by the very fashion in which they forced the Soviets to intervene is to demonstrate to the whole world in an unmistakable way the cruelty and the ruthlessness of the Soviet Union. By this they have done very great harm to the communist cause throughout the world, done more harm to it indeed than any amount of propaganda from the West could have done. They have also brought new hope and set a fine example to the other peoples in the satellite countries.

For most of us it was, of course, a great shame and frustration that we could not do more to help the Hungarian people. Yet, I think they realized just what the situation was. We felt that we could not have gone to their help with force, without running the very grave risk of a Third World War and we believe that they too would not wish that to happen. They too would suffer as much as we would, as much as everybody else would. But because we were unable to go to their help in this way there is all the more reason for doing everything else that we can,

short of the threat, short of the risk, of war in helping them.

I myself believe that more should have been done and could still be done in the way of relief through the International Red Cross. We certainly should not in any way give up the struggle in the United Nations to get observers admitted and to have reports submitted to the Assembly, as to what is going on inside Hungary and I believe, too, the time has come, for which we should all of us begin to think seriously, about the prospect of a new diplomatic approach to the Soviet Union whereby, perhaps, as a result of a general neutralization area in Central and Eastern Europe the Soviet forces could be withdrawn from the satellite countries.

Well, it is not an appropriate moment for me to discuss these matters in detail here and some of you,

of course, may not agree with everything I have said, but I would like to pay a special tribute to one of your visitors in the United States, Anna Kethly, who is with you tonight. I had the privilege of introducing her to the labor members of Parliament in the House of Commons and whenever I have heard her speaking, this woman of indomitable courage and firm faith has made a very deep impression indeed.

Comrades, on behalf of the British Labor Party, I salute you this evening and send you our greetings and our best hopes for the future. May I also extend my best wishes to the other comrades from other countries who are present here tonight and who, unfortunately, I shall also miss. I hope the dinner is a great success and I hope that the new united party in the United States will make great progress in the days and months ahead.

Greetings to SP-SDF Convention

Socialist Parties Throughout the World Hail Unity

Morgan Phillips, *Chairman*
Bjarne Braatoy, *Secretary*
Socialist International

Entire International fervently awaits unity developments from your conference and extends solidarity.

* * *

Morgan Phillips, *Secretary*
British Labor Party

On behalf of the British Labor Party, I have very great pleasure in sending you our congratulations on the occasion of the Unity Convention of the two socialist parties of the United States.

The need for strong, democratic socialist forces in the world at the present time has been underlined by the acts of aggression committed against Egypt and Hungary. We in the Labor Party have recently been involved in a strenuous and successful campaign to halt the Tory Government's war against Egypt. We are grateful for the support we have received from American socialists in this campaign.

Socialists all over the world will welcome the strengthening of socialist forces in the United States that your Unity Convention represents. The uniting of your two parties is particularly significant coming as it does within a few months of the unification of the two powerful trade union bodies in your country.

We are convinced that this convention will be a

landmark in the struggle of the progressive forces in the United States for peace, freedom and social justice.

* * *

U Ba Swe, *Chairman*
U Hla Aung, *Secretary*
Asian Socialist Conference

On behalf of the Asian Socialist Conference, we very heartily welcome the Reunion of Socialist forces in America. We have been in close contact with the Socialist Party and Comrade Norman Thomas since the very beginning of our new movement in Asia. Moreover, we have extended our contacts both in Canada and Latin America and we are quite sure that a solid united force of Socialists in U.S.A. will greatly strengthen the growing socialist forces in the Western Hemisphere.

As you all are aware of the recent developments in West Asia, Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa, it is not necessary for us to remind you that socialism is being challenged with the dangerous forces of power politics, diehard colonial expansionists and ruthless communism. We on our part are quite confident of the success of the world socialist movement and we eagerly look forward toward closer consultation and sincere cooperation for better understanding and mutual solutions among us.

Comrades, once again we extend our sincere congratulations and hearty greetings on this happy occasion of the Unity Convention of the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Federation.

Long live Socialism and long live Peace.

* * *

Erich Ollenhauer, *Leader*
Social Democratic Party of Germany

Dear Comrades, the Social Democratic Party of Germany salutes the unification of the Socialist Party of America and the Social Democratic Federation and sends its fraternal greetings to this convention.

Mankind is threatened with tumbling into a new form of barbarism unless all forces are combined which aim at envisaging a steady road to peace and democracy. It is up to the democratic socialists to show the people the way toward these goals and we are convinced that a united Socialist Party in the U.S.A. will be in a good position to lead this struggle.

The German Social Democratic Party wishes your convention and your efforts lots of success.

* * *

Alsing Andersen, *Vice-Chairman*
Social Democratic Party of Denmark

It is with the greatest pleasure and high expectations that the Executive Committee of the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark has learned of the decision to hold a joint conference of the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Federation in order to establish unity among all democratic socialists of the U.S.A.

We beg to extend to the delegates of the Unity Convention, to the working class and to all democratic socialists of the U.S.A. the sincere wishes and the hearty congratulations of the Danish Party.

* * *

Sven Aspling, *General Secretary*
Social Democratic Party of Sweden

The Social Democratic Party of Sweden greets with acclamation the message that the democratic socialist groups in the United States will reunite. Organizational strength is one of the essential bases for success. Your Convention, which we give our fraternal greetings, will mean another milestone in the history of the American socialist movement and we are convinced that it will lay a solid basis for a stronger socialist force in your country. We look forward to a more effective and near cooperation between the American and the Swedish socialist movements.

Sveriges Socialdemokratisk Arbetareparti wishes the Convention success!

* * *

Krishna Menon, *Joint Secretary*
Indian Praja Socialist Party

On behalf of the Praja Socialist Party, I send greetings to the Convention called for January 18-20, 1957, for reuniting the Socialist Party, U.S.A. and the Social Democratic Federation. We welcome this unity of the two great democratic socialist forces of America as heralding a mighty advance to socialism and democracy that would reach beyond America to democratic socialist parties all over the world. It has added significance at this time when ugly distortions of Socialism are getting exposed and civilization is taking a new turn to realize what is essentially human, free and just.

* * *

Sutan Sjahrir, *Secretary*
Indonesian Socialist Party

Our heartfelt congratulations for reunion Socialist Party, U.S.A. and Social Democratic Federation. We are convinced prospects for democratic socialism in U. S. hence will improve. Though eager to send fraternal delegates for happy occasion of reunification, must apologize for not being able. Fraternal greetings from Socialist Party of Indonesia and best wishes.

* * *

Humberto Maiztegui, *Secretary*
Latin American Secretariat, Socialist International

This Secretariat wishes the Congress for the Unification of the U.S. Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Federation the best of success. We are sure that this unification will make possible the organization of a powerful U.S. Socialist Party, to which we extend our warm greetings and with whom we are anxious to maintain very friendly relations.

* * *

Alicia Moreau de Justo, *Secretary of Foreign Relations*
Socialist Party of Argentina

We have received the gratifying news of the Convention you are going to hold, during which the democratic socialist groups in America—separated 20 years ago—will become reunited.

The Executive Committee of the Argentine Socialist Party wants to extend herewith its congratulations and its best wishes to both groups. We sincerely hope that this merger will contribute to the growth of the democratic socialist movement and the spread of our common ideals in the United States.

We also hope that our movement—that has now recovered its legality after 12 years of persecution by Peron's regime—will be able now to resume and strengthen its links with your party and all other democratic socialist groups in the world.

* * *

Mobarek Sagher, *Secretary-General*
Pakistan Socialist Party

Thanks for your kind invitation to the forthcoming Unity Convention of the Socialist Party, U.S.A. and the Social Democratic Federation. We wish every success to this historic congregation of your great country, and hope the grand task of achieving unification of the socialist forces in the American Continent will not only strengthen the national movement but will also prove to be a valuable asset to the great international cause of democratic socialism all the world over.

We would have, indeed, loved to send a fraternal delegation to the auspicious Convention of yours, but due to time schedule and vast distance separating our two countries it could not be possible to arrange the journey at such a short notice. We regret to miss the great opportunity of meeting all you comrades and wish you to kindly convey our fraternal greetings to all friends attending the Convention.

* * *

Leopold Gratz, *Secretary*
International Union of Socialist Youth

It was with great pleasure that we received the news that the Socialist Party of the U.S.A. and the Social Democratic Federation are to be reunited. This is indeed an important and great step for the American Socialists and those of the world. For it is only through unification and cooperation of Socialists throughout the world that we can really achieve world peace and happiness.

We wish the Convention great success in this coming year and for the years to come, so that the American Socialists, as America in the world today, will play a leading part in creating a peaceful and socialist world.

* * *

Vilem Bernard, *Secretary*
Socialist Union of Central-Eastern Europe

We wish to convey fraternal greetings to your Convention and to salute all Socialists in the United States on the occasion of their re-unification.

We realize that one of the many issues uniting your members is their solidarity with the people behind the Iron Curtain and their struggle for freedom and independence. This is being warmly appreciated by Eastern European Socialists both in their countries and in exile.

* * *

Robert Pontillon, *Secretary International Affairs*
French Socialist Party
Greetings on your unification Convention.

* * *

Dr. George Petkoff, *President*
Bulgarian Social Democratic Party in Exile

We present to you in the name of the workers in enslaved Bulgaria and in our name our congratulations and wishes for success and new achievements to the united socialist movement in the United States.

* * *

Vaclav Majer, *Chairman*
Executive Committee Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party in Exile

It is a great honor for me to greet your Unity Convention in the name of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party in exile.

I am sorry that due to my illness I am unable to be with you at this great event but a delegation of our party will be present.

I wish to the Convention every success and I am sure it will be a new force of democratic socialism not only in United States but throughout the world.

AVAILABLE: MORE THAN A HOME

We wanted more than a home. We wanted a good buy, pleasant surroundings, friendly neighbors and a spirited community. Finding all this and more for our family in Concord Park, our only regret was to have to leave it when Bob's transfer to New England came through. Our comfortable 3-bedroom ranch on 1/4 acre in this integrated development in Lower Bucks County is left with Stuart Wallace to sell. Phone him, Elmwood 7-4356, or write, Concord Park Homes, Old Lincoln Highway and Street Road, Trevoise, Pa. — Bob and Pat Lyon.

The Aftermath of the Revolution

Hungary and the United Nations

By Anna Kethly

WE HAVE REACHED a new phase of the Hungarian problem. The United Nations Organization has appointed a Fact-Finding Commission because all its resolutions, as well as the proposed visit of the Secretary-General to Hungary, were ignored or rejected by the Soviet puppet regime of Janos Kadar. This Commission will examine all the facts and events hitherto hidden behind the smoke screen put up by the present Hungarian regime. This screen included Imre Horvath, the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs and Hungary's delegate to the United Nations, who boasted of the strong ties between the Hungarian and other delegations at the United Nations. The puppet Minister of Foreign Affairs brazenly stated that Mr. Hammarskjold understood and accepted the rejection of his visit by the Hungarian regime.

We know perfectly well—and our information is based on reliable news from Hungary—that completely different reasons were behind Kadar's reluctance. If Hammarskjold could have reached Hungary at the time, he would have met the Workers Councils, chosen by free elections by the workers themselves; the Councils could have furnished the Secretary-General with all the necessary data concerning events in Hungary. Undoubtedly the Workers Central Committee, substantiated by the provincial workers committees, would have given such information to the Secretary-General and his colleagues as to demonstrate that any statement interpreting our revolution as a counter-revolutionary, fascist movement is a lie.

The Fate of the Councils

In the meantime, the Workers Councils have been partly dissolved, partly re-organized, their democratic leaders have been either imprisoned or sentenced and executed, and in their posts Communists have been placed by force.

Anna Kethly, leader of the Social Democratic Party in Hungary, and Minister of State in the short-lived Nagy regime, took an active part in the Hungarian Revolution. As representative of the free Hungarian people, she recently testified before the United Nations Fact-Finding Commission on Hungary.

The Kadar regime hopes that when the Secretary-General finally arrives in Hungary the country will be calm and silent—like a graveyard.

But those who escaped deportation, the terror of the newly organized AVO, the secret police, and the returning Stalinists, will not permit the question of Hungary to become an inter-satellite matter. We shall do everything possible to keep the Hungarian question on the agenda of the United Nations; one valuable result of our efforts was the establishment of the five-member U.N. commission. The commission includes the delegates of Australia, Ceylon, Denmark, Tunisia and Uruguay. At these hearings I emphasized that the government of Imre Nagy, which has been established by the democratic parties and by the revolutionary forces, is still the only legal, constitutional government of Hungary. The puppet Kadar administration was put into power by the Soviet military forces; consequently, it does not represent anything or anyone, certainly not the masses of revolutionary workers and farmers, as the Communists assert through their controlled press.

The Principle of Leninism

According to the statement made by the puppet Kadar regime on January 6, 1957, in the future it would follow the principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat laid down by Lenin, that is, the principle which says that a "dictatorship must be based on the masses of the workers." This statement clearly shows that, contrary to the wishes of the democratic parties and revolutionary forces, the puppet regime wants to enforce its dictatorship. But the basic elements of this dictatorship are not the working masses but the terror organization, the returned old Stalinists and, primarily, the arms of the foreign occupant, the colonial rulers of Hungary.

In the controlled Hungarian press, which has no place for free thought, no mention has been made of the demands presented to the Kadar regime by the democratically-elected Workers Councils. Neither was any mention made of the resolution adopted by these representatives of the masses and submitted to Janos Kadar on November 6, 1956.

The Workers Councils Demands

Their resolutions demanded:

1. Immediate withdrawal of Soviet forces from Budapest, their gradual withdrawal from the country.
2. The complete dissolution of the AVO, and the trial and punishment of the secret police who committed crimes against the people.
3. A newly organized armed force whose members should be selected by the revolutionary committees; to strengthen these forces a workers militia should be organized to safeguard the workers interests.
4. Free elections with the participation of all democratic parties.
5. The case of Imre Nagy should be publicly discussed and clarified.
6. Permission should be given to Mr. Hammarskjold to visit Hungary.
7. Possibilities for the start of full-scale production.
8. The right of the workers to strike.
9. To seek a loan from the West in order to rebuild the country.

Toward Hungarian Democracy

Some of these demands were incorporated in the Hungarian Peace Treaty and are likewise to be found in the Charter of the United Nations Organizations. They represent the wish of the overwhelming majority of the country's population.

The above memorandum comprises the wishes of the broad Hungarian masses, while the program of the Kadar regime—which calls itself the true representative of these masses—stands for and lives by the following policies in practice:

1. The presence of the Soviet troops represents the source of its power.
2. The AVO, political police, is not to be dissolved but, on the contrary, is to be used as a complementary force to the occupation troops. No trials will be held of the Communist terrorists, but sentences, often the death penalty, will be applied against the participants in the revolution.
3. No armed forces will be established in accordance with the demands of the revolutionary committees, but in accordance with the instructions received from the foreign interventionists. No armed workers militia is to be organized. Instead, all armed worker units which do not lay down their arms face extinction.
4. No opportunity for the clarification of Imre Nagy's position; instead, he is continually denounced.

6. Having continually rejected and disregarded the repeated United Nations resolution, it has given no opportunity to the Secretary-General and the United Nations observers to visit Hungary.
7. Concerning production, it wishes to maintain the work methods introduced by the dictatorship.
8. Instead of according the right to strike, it imposes the death penalty against strikers.
9. Instead of seeking the suggested loan from Western powers to rebuild Hungary, it binds our land with new obligations to the Soviet bloc countries.

The Total Puppet

If we add to all this the fact that the Kadar regime has proclaimed martial law, that the leader of the Independent Small Holders Party had to retire from political life, and that the Petofi Party had to dissolve itself, it is quite evident that this regime is not supported either by the workers or the farmers. The people of Hungary persist in their will to democracy, but the Kadar regime does not wish to serve the interests of the people; it follows only the armed aggressor's instructions.

Consequently, it is not the people's will which prevails in Hungary. It is a regime put into power by foreign armed intervention which rules the country and exercises tyranny. This is a brutal violation of existing international law, the principles laid down in the United Nations Charter, and the Hungarian Peace Treaty. And this was only made possible by the invading armed Soviet forces.

Before the United Nations Commission we talked about the dictatorship of the past and about the events which preceded and caused the revolution. Here is the statement of the erstwhile great Communist prophet, Stalin, who said: "A revolution can only break out where a revolutionary soil exists." We discussed before the Commission the political, economic and moral bankruptcy caused by the eight years of one-party dictatorship.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, which has been set up to serve as the Soviet-type administration exercised by the puppet Kadar regime, has the following to say about the depredations of the Communists:

"In the administration of the Party and the State as well as in management of the economic life, it [the Party] established a dogmatic policy and an imperious bureaucratic system. Their detrimental methods led us to severe failures and incorrigible errors. They prevented the broadening of party democratization and gravely sinned against the socialist order. The policy which was forced upon the people did

not take the economic potentials of the country into consideration and hampered increasingly the living standard. Insulting Lenin's thesis on voluntary principles they made the production-cooperative ridiculous in the eyes of the greater part of farming communities. By copying slavishly the Soviet example and misinterpreting Soviet-Hungary friendship, they gravely erred against Hungarian interests and traditions. Through all this, they severely injured the national and patriotic feelings of the Hungarian people."

Their Indictment Confirmed

Many of these facts appear daily in the official or-

gan of the Kadar regime; consequently, they cannot be denounced by the Communists as counter-revolutionary, fascist propaganda. The soil of Hungary was ripe for revolution, and we wanted to change the soil by democratic means. We wish to talk about all this and about the tragic, illegal aggression committed by the brutal Soviet intervention. We expect that those forces of the free world represented in the United Nations Commission will come to the conclusion that the democratic revolution, the revolutionary coalition government of Imre Nagy, and its actions were justified. And we hope that this will hasten the day when Hungary will regain its freedom, independence and sovereignty.

Hungary During the Revolution

The Early Days of Freedom

By Farkas Kelso

WE HAVE LIVED THROUGH some tragic weeks. By now the whole world probably knows and sympathizes with the Hungarian cause. Since 1948 this is the first time that the world knows who the Hungarians are and where the country actually is.

In my own words I will tell you what has been happening.

For several months we have felt there was something in the air. When we got rid of Rakosi in July the papers began to write openly about all the misery and oppression that we have gone through during these years and which has now finally produced the revolution.

On October 23rd after completing a difficult operation I was on my way home from the hospital. The trolley stopped suddenly and I saw hundreds of students and workers marching with a red, white and green flag, singing Kossuth songs. It was a tremendous demonstration, the people demanding democracy. Simultaneously, posters appeared on the walls with similar democratic demands. I had a great deal of trouble getting home. Everyone seemed to be on the streets, people with tears in their eyes singing the national anthem and other national songs.

When I woke the next morning I heard shooting in the streets. The Radio said there had been a revolution and that the Russians had been called in by

the Government to assist. I left for the hospital feeling I would be needed there.

What was on the street? I had taken a few steps when I saw a lorry loaded with 12 and 13 year old children with guns, grenades and bottles of gasoline with wicks. They asked me, "Mister, have you seen any Russians around?" Not much further on, in a Soviet book store, I saw a crowd burning Soviet publications and pictures of the Soviet leaders.

In other buildings people were removing the red star which we have all over Budapest. In front of the National theatre, Stalin's enormous statue was in pieces and kids were dancing all over it, doing things which I leave up to your imagination. On Rakoczi Avenue I encountered the first Russian tanks. They were moving about crazily.

Finally I got to the hospital. In all my years in medicine, in concentration camps and encountering human misery I have never seen such tragic sights. Screaming little boys without arms or legs, with open stomachs, chests with holes and lacerated bodies. They were screaming, even praying. I mean it literally when I say the steps of the hospital were slippery with blood. But this was only the beginning of what I was to see in the next few days.

* * *

The work still goes on, more and more casualties. Radio Budapest says that participants are fascists, looting rabble and has declared martial law. Mean-

Farkas Kelso is the pseudonym of a surgeon who served in a Budapest hospital during the Hungarian Revolution.

time we have heard rumors at the hospital that the Hungarian army and police force have come over to the patriots. I know this to be true, because we have had casualties from both and they have said so.

Fifteen and 16 year olds with guns and gasoline bottles have been attacking the tanks and have knocked out quite a few of them. Many Russian tanks have gone over voluntarily to the patriots.

* * *

The Radio says there is looting going on but I can tell you I have seen shops with broken windows loaded with wares. A civil guard was posted in front of them but I know what no one had any intention of stealing anything.

The next few days I spent in the hospital working continuously. We have not enough medicine, especially some of the drugs which are essential to prevent infection. We have run out of anaesthetics and have had to amputate without it. But we have squeezed the Russians out of the city. Rumors are that the whole country is against communism.

The last days of October we had battles between the AVO and the patriots. I have seen some very sorry sights. I believe they treated them very cruelly (the S.S.) but you must realize that they were murderers.

One of the surprising things is the attitude of the peasants. I have seen them bringing their buried food and their livestock through the fighting to the capital from as far away as 50 kilometers and giving it to the hospital.

Finally we have got rid of the police and the Russians too, all over the country. Now I must tell you something because I am sure that there are opinions abroad which may differ. There were stories of anti-Semitic outbursts by former fascists and other rightist elements.

I was told from a very reliable source that certain groups were marching down one of the main avenues shouting, "Down with the Bolshevik Jews." The shouters were almost lynched by the population who feel very strongly that they must not make the same mistake of that in 1920; that this is a revolution of free people and neither Jews nor any other religious group will suffer in it.

* * *

Sunday morning the tragedy occurred. Around 3 in the morning we heard cannons and we knew it was the end. Soon afterwards hundreds of tanks began pouring into the city. The battle began all over again. They say there were over a thousand tanks in Budapest that day. The hospital was in chaos; no medicine, few doctors.

My friends and I went down into the street to give aid at least to those who fell around the hospital but there was little we could do, even for those inside. About 20 or 30 yards from us we saw a Russian tank coming with its guns blazing. Although we had on white coats with red cross armbands they kept shooting in our direction. I saw the sidewalk turn to dust around us. A patient who was half dead was hit again, this time for good. We jumped into the nearest window but the idiots kept shooting in our direction. We lay there for about an hour before they finally left.

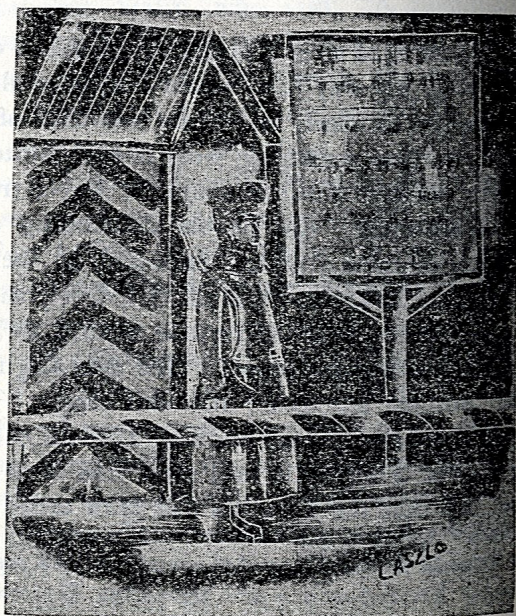
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Well, as you know, so far the Russians have won. The city is in ruins. Budapest is a horrible sight. No trains, no electric lights and not enough food, but we are lucky to be alive. One thing I am confident of; we have shown the world what the Soviets really are, and the little people of the world will realize who the benefactors of humanity really are. To think that anyone could have fallen for such an idea as communism!

A great number of Russians deserted to our side in the battle and a friend of mine has spoken to some of them. I predict that if this whole thing ever comes to a real showdown we'll find a number of them are on our side.

Meanwhile there are the sad realities. The best part of our youth killed, thousands homeless, the streets in ruins, full of bodies sprinkled with lime. Now we have the strike. The workers will not work for this Government.

What will become of this country? Who knows? Who can tell what tomorrow will bring?



Hungary Before the Revolution

An Eyewitness Description of Dictatorship

By Russell Bell

AS I LOOKED AT THE MASSIVE metal and concrete statue of Stalin standing in Budapest's Stalin Square I thought to myself, "There is one thing the de-Stalinization program won't be able to wipe out for a long time." But today we know that ropes, blow torches and sledge hammers have brought down even this mighty symbol of Russian preeminence.

I got to Budapest by mere chance. I had happened to strike a period when ordinary visa requirements were waived to permit people in Austria to attend the international Austrian-Hungarian football matches on two successive week-ends. I didn't care about the football games, but I seized the opportunity to go to Budapest and see this part of Russia's empire for myself. I had full freedom to go where I pleased, to take pictures, and as far as I know I was not followed.

My first impression—and it was an overwhelming one—was of drabness: drab, grey-looking clothing worn by men, women and children; drab stores; street after street of dark, crowded, old stone buildings in which the people live. As you walked along some of the streets you could clearly see the drab interiors with ancient, worn-out drab furniture. As a British embassy official said to me: "What this city needs most is several thousand tons of paint."

The Hungarian Living Standard

The second thing that impressed me about Budapest, (shocked is really a better word) was the intolerably low living standard. There was evidence of this on every hand—in the poor clothing, the deteriorating buildings, the shoddy and impoverished stores, the complete lack of automobiles and the very few bicycles.

I wandered in and out of countless shops throughout the city and pitied the Hungarian housewife who had to visit them. Everything bespoke the low living standards—the poor, dingy and dilapidated condition of the stores themselves, the lack of choice in the goods displayed, the poor quality and the high prices compared with wages. A Hungarian student I spoke

with told me that the very ordinary dress she was wearing cost 700 forints. This compared with the average workman's wage of about 1,000 forints (\$35) a month.

Later in Vienna I spoke with a man who had been a Socialist member of the Hungarian coalition cabinet of Socialists and Communists until the latter seized control in 1948. He told me that in Vienna the people of that city had been worse off at the end of the war than were the people of Budapest at that time. The contrast between the two cities today made this comparison almost impossible to believe—conditions in Vienna now being so much better in every conceivable way. The contrast today was a contrast of day and night.

The City of Soldiers

My third impression of Budapest was of oppression and lack of freedom, of a people hemmed in and denied those basic rights which citizens of Western European and North American countries take for granted. This impression came to me more slowly. I had noticed at once, however, the soldiers. Nowhere else in Europe had I seen so many soldiers. But in Budapest there were soldiers everywhere—whether Russian or Hungarian I could not distinguish.

The repression and yearning for freedom I was not aware of until I had the opportunity to speak to a number of the people. The first indication came in an incident which took place as I arrived. With me on the bus from Vienna had travelled a middle-aged lady who had seized the opportunity to visit her niece, an attractive girl in her early thirties. The tearful reunion between aunt and niece was moving. Luckily the girl spoke English and I had a chance to talk with her.

Her mother and all her relatives were living abroad and she alone of all her family remained in Hungary. She had not seen her aunt for ten years but under no circumstances would the government allow her to leave the country. In all those years she had not been permitted to go to Vienna even for a weekend to visit her relatives.

Another person making the same trip with us was a Danish girl who was taking this opportunity of

Russell Bell is research director of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation of Canada.

getting into Budapest to see her fiancé, a translator in the Hungarian government. On a former occasion, the details of which I had never learned, she had been in Budapest and had become engaged. Her Hungarian fiancé had tried repeatedly to obtain a passport to leave the country but without results. There appeared at that time to be no solution to their problem because it was clear that the Danish girl was ready to sacrifice her marriage rather than permanently leave the freedom of Western Europe for Budapest.

The City of Hostages

Then there was the maid at the United Kingdom Embassy, a woman whose mother was desperately ill in Yugoslavia. She had sought permission to visit her mother and permission of the Hungarian authorities had at long last been granted—on condition that she leave her child behind in Budapest as a hostage!

I got glimpses of the smoldering unrest in spite of the evident reluctance of many people to talk freely with a stranger like myself. One of the most surprising admissions came from a Hungarian government employee whom I cannot identify for obvious reasons. In halting English and a cynical voice this person said to me, "We have lots of democracy,

we have lots of freedom, lots of money and lots of leisure—so the newspapers tell us—but I don't know where these things are."

In contrast, there was the head-waiter in a café along the banks of the Danube who spoke English quite well. He was most friendly and chatted amiably until I began to turn the conversation around to the government, politics, etc. At that point he abruptly ended the conversation and hurriedly excused himself. He was being more cautious than the government official.

Obviously the Russians here were sitting on top of a powder keg. Discontent was evident. There was a growing awareness of the difference between conditions in their country and the outside world. It struck one at once that a major reason for the impoverishment of the people was the upkeep of the huge military establishment so much in evidence at every hand.

Another contributing factor, of course, was the emphasis, in the Russian fashion, of building up heavy industry at the expense of the production of consumer goods, plus the rigid bureaucratization of Hungary and the shaping of the Hungarian economy to a certain extent to meet Russian requirements without regard to the economic interests of Hungary itself.

The Asian Socialist Conference

Impressions of a Western Socialist

By Adolf Scharf

EARLY IN NOVEMBER, the Asian Socialist Conference held its Second Congress in Bombay, the Indian city of eight million inhabitants. As a delegate of the Socialist International I attended this Congress at which delegates from almost every non-Communist country in Asia were present. In addition, there were delegates from Europe and America and also from Africa.

When this Congress assembled, news of the Suez crisis came like a bombshell. The action of France, Britain and Israel was unanimously condemned while all parties appreciated the clear stand taken by the British Labor Party. As regards events in Hungary, ideas were rather hazy. It was possible for me and other European representatives to show in our talks

with the Asian Socialists the true character and significance of Soviet intervention.

The Russian Communists have been presenting themselves to the peoples of Asia and Africa as fighters for national independence against the colonial imperialism of European and American powers, and until now this picture has only too often been accepted at its face value. However, the attempts staged by some followers of the Russian line present at the Bombay Congress to excuse Soviet action in Hungary or to interpret it as justifiable from a "Socialist point of view" failed.

We were glad to be able to explain the background of events in Hungary and of Soviet policy in many meetings of the Bureau, of the various sub-committees and the plenary session of the Congress, as also in the discussions that took place in the various seminars which were part of the Congress program.

Adolf Scharf, Vice-Chancellor of Austria, is Chairman of the Austrian Socialist Party.

The Stand of Burma and Ceylon

We were very happy indeed when, after the Bombay Congress, the Socialist Prime Ministers U Ba Swe of Burma and Bandaranaike of Ceylon—both of whom attended the Bombay Congress—took a determined stand against Soviet oppression in Hungary in the important discussions held in New Delhi among the leading statesmen of the South-East Asian States. This was in striking contrast to the pro-Russian attitude previously shown by Nehru, and undoubtedly had certain repercussions in the United Nations, too.

Even if what I was able to achieve by my visit to Asia had been no more than this contribution to the enlightenment of world opinion on Soviet action in Hungary, I should have been satisfied.

However, my journey proved most useful in other respects, too. It gave me many opportunities to become acquainted with the economic and social conditions in several Asian countries, through first-hand observations and by my talks with many politicians, scientists and representatives of social and economic life.

It provided invaluable opportunities for improving relations and establishing new contacts with Asian friends all of which, I hope, will help to foster greater unity and develop ever closer cooperation among Socialists throughout the world. The slogan I put forward in my address to the Bombay Congress, "Socialists of all Continents, unite!" evoked a warm response.

Asian Socialist Unity

The Asian Socialists are very anxious to develop their contacts with the young movements of the colored peoples of Africa which are sympathetic to socialist ideas, and many representatives of these movements were present in Bombay. The Asian Socialists feel a special sense of unity with all colored peoples, and they are trying to draw the Arabs into their orbit. But as in the Near East so in large parts of Africa, especially those with Muslim populations, the removal of European rule has not led to a breaking up of the old feudal system.

On the contrary, representatives of these classes often place themselves in the forefront of national or nationalist freedom movements. It is their aim to maintain their former privileges as members of the ruling class even within the freer conditions which are being established in these countries.

In several countries of Africa socialist movements are beginning to develop, especially in territories belonging to the British Commonwealth such as Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Kenya, Nigeria and West Africa.

In the vast regions of which I have spoken, socialism is a spiritual force of considerable importance. It is so strong that even classes whose interests are not represented by socialism recognize its superiority and are seeking to utilize those of its ideas that might, in their opinion, be reconciled in one way or another with their own class interests.

Everywhere in the world, among the best and the noblest men of all continents, the forward-looking forces are rallying to build the future of their peoples on the foundations of democratic socialism.

Asian Socialists Look Ahead

Excerpts from the Chairman's Report

By U Ba Swe

IT WILL BE RECALLED that the First Congress of the Asian Socialist Conference met in Rangoon in 1953, three years ago, when the power blocs were engaged in a cold war aimed at widening their own spheres of influence. It was the time when the world had become dangerously divided into two hostile camps in spite of the repeated warnings of Socialists who had all along made efforts to widen the "area of peace."

The 14-point "Principles and Objectives of Social-

U Ba Swe, the Prime Minister of Burma, is chairman of the Asian Socialist Conference, which recently held its Second Congress in Bombay.

ism," as laid down at that conference, together with other resolutions such as those relating to "Asia and World Peace" and "Common Asian Problems" have served to provide Asian socialism with a clear and definite course for the benefit of the people striving for peace, unity and general progress. In other words, the Asian Socialist Conference, since 1953, has, indeed, given new strength to socialist thought and action.

Asian socialism further attaches great importance to freedom movements in the world in view of its firm belief that "freedom is indivisible." The tasks of socialist reconstruction can make a good start only

after the dependent peoples have won their full independence on the basis of the right to self-determination. We know only too well that there can be no real peace without freedom.

In the field of world politics the Asian Socialist Conference has made many a valuable contribution in widening the "area of peace" and in mobilizing world opinion every time world peace was at stake. Moreover, the Asian Socialist Conference has condemned the use of atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons, even for test purposes, and, on the other hand, has sponsored the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

It has further welcomed all attempts aimed at disarmament among military powers in order that funds saved thereby might be diverted to help underdeveloped countries through the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED). It has always been a strong adherent of the United Nations Charter and has many times reaffirmed its faith in the ability of the United Nations to preserve international peace, to develop an equitable distribution of the world's wealth and, above all, to champion the happiness of mankind.

Awakening Interest in Socialism

At this juncture it may be useful to take note of the interim developments in the world, due largely to the awakening of peoples to socialism based on democratic principles. The Bandung Conference of twenty-nine Asian and African countries in 1955 is an example. In Geneva, at the meeting of the big military powers last year, efforts were made to find ways and means of ending the cold war and of introducing a system of disarmament.

UN is doing a fine job on the whole and well deserves a tribute. It has succeeded at least in reducing world tension and increasing its membership on the basis of universality. It has made efforts to raise the standards of living and health of the mass of the people through remarkable specialized agencies like FAO, WHO, UNESCO, ILO, UNICEF, etc. It has upheld human rights and basic freedoms. The U.N. Charter contains the seeds of international cooperation as against satellitism, and social justice as against colonialism.

Comrades, I should certainly be failing in my duty if I did not make a few observations on the sensational developments which have suddenly flared up in West Asia and East Europe. Not only Socialists but all peace-loving people in the world will, no doubt, view these developments with grave concern and feelings of dismay. It is a sad commentary on

the statesmanship of the world in the middle of the 20th century that war is still being employed as an instrument of national policy.

The Situation in East Europe

I should be failing in my duty again if I did not mention also the developments in Eastern Europe, particularly Poland and Hungary.

Our attention of late has been attracted by the spontaneous outbreak of violence by workers who revolted against the miserable working conditions at Poznan in Poland. Though at first this revolt by the workers was attributed to counter-revolutionaries who exploited the economic difficulties of the country, the convicted accused were later released wholesale. This was followed by the struggle of the Communist parties and Governments of Poland and Hungary for freedom and independence of control from Soviet Russia.

Though in the case of Poland Soviet Russia desisted from imposing a government of its own choice, after a show of threat by movements of Russian troops and naval units, in Hungary Soviet soldiers shot down hundreds of people whose only guilt was to ask the Russians to leave Hungary. In spite of the insistence of the Government and the people of Hungary to withdraw her troops, Soviet Russia persisted in stationing them.

We Socialists have persistently urged that foreign troops should not be allowed to be stationed in a country without the consent of the government concerned, as they would inevitably give rise to tension in the particular area. But for a big power to station its troops without the consent of a small country and, what is still worse, to suppress people and to impose on the helpless government its own puppets and stooges, is the most despicable form of colonialism. Yet this is exactly what has been happening in Hungary, which has now appealed to the United Nations for help.

In the circumstances, it is imperative for the governments and the people of all countries to strengthen the hand of the United Nations in combatting such acts of domination and persecution. The United Nations must have sufficient strength and resources to combat such acts.

Both Britain and France, on the one hand, and Soviet Russia, on the other, motivated by identical objectives are jointly scuttling the United Nations which they had helped to build, and to which the fear-ridden people of the world are now looking with hope and prayers.

These, then, are the problems facing Asian Socialism which this Congress is to discuss. Long live Socialism.

BACK TALK

To the Editor:

Please permit me, as one of the oldest Socialist refugees from Hungary, to call the attention of the Socialist public of America to a very urgent need of the day. The Hungarian refugees have been forced to flee from three ruthless dictatorships in succession: the Horthy reactionaries, the Nazis, and the Communists.

I believe the 170,000 refugees of today need an appropriate organ published in the Hungarian language. There is a strongly political Hungarian press in this country and also in Europe, mostly weeklies. First, the Nazi, the most lively and aggressive publications, directed and written by well known, openly declared Hungarian Nazis. Second the nationalistic, reactionary press, even monarchistically inclined, are stragglers of the Horthy era. Last, there are the periodicals which support Jewish and Zionist interests in the Hungarian language. These are maintained and backed by interested circles. Naturally, then, they do not echo the spirit of the most recent revolution—of workers, students and intellectuals in Hungary—and therefore they embitter even further the tens of thousands who resisted heroically, and now in America feel lost and completely discouraged in strange surroundings.

It is the task of the Socialists of the world to give the Hungarian refugees and the cause of the Hungarian revolution a suitable press. This does not require vast funds; a weekly would be enough. But the cost of production and distribution, even of a weekly, is today so high that no private financing would suffice.

The uncommonly high and well-deserved prestige of Anna Kethly in all parts of the world should be used to create this highly important Hungarian organ. It should be published under her direction and in her name.

For many reasons this periodical should appear in the United States; it should be directed by Socialists but should not be a party paper. The Hungarian refugees long ago became disgusted with party emphasis; the word "party" has so often been misused for Communist purposes. Besides, the Hungarian revolution has shown a rare national unity of spirit, all shades of liberal opinion, all religious faiths—Catholic, Protestant, Jewish—fought side by side for freedom, free labor and free thought against a foreign tyranny. Even Communist Party members died in the streets in the

battle against that inhuman totalitarian dictatorship.

This spirit should be mirrored in the new publication. There is now an abundance of talented, valuable writers among the refugees, men and women burning to speak freely at last on all questions of the past and the future, on political, cultural, literary questions, in all the nuances of liberal opinion, concerning their impressions, their feelings, their sufferings and passions, in the beautiful, expressive Hungarian language. All refugees will greet such a publication as a long lost friend after the stale, meaningless jargon of the Communist press. The paper would, of course, have to discuss the daily problems and difficulties of the refugees in their new homeland, but its main purpose would be to remind them in all their struggles, in their job-hunting and success-hunting, of what they still owe their fatherland and themselves after their historic deeds, and what they owe the cause of liberty all over the world.

PAUL KERI

New York, N. Y.

* * *

To the Editor:

I am writing this letter to whomsoever it may concern, i.e. you. The Spanish Civil War ended eighteen years ago. There are still between 150 and 200 thousand exiles who will not go back. Franco has solemnly promised to amnesty all those who would come back. Why amnesty them when they had committed no crime? Those who have come back—a handful—have sometimes found that Franco's promises are not to be trusted. Lieutenant Colonel Beneyto, for instance, who was shot on November 19th, 1956.

Most of the exiles have made good. They have acquired an independent position sometimes in difficult circumstances; and in some cases—in Mexico, for instance—they have powerfully contributed to the culture and prosperity of their adoptive abode.

But the handicapped ones—by language, trade, age, illness, or other circumstance—have been and are living a hard life.

The Spanish Refugee Aid, Inc. (80 East 11th Street, N.Y.C. 3), founded four years ago, is taking care of them. The Committee needs your help. This concerns you for you are a free citizen of a free country. Help.

SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA
Oxford, England

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